

# looking ahead

..... A monthly report by the National Planning Association on forward-looking policy planning and research — announced, underway, and completed — of importance to the nation's future

Vol. 2, No. 4

May 1954

## Representatives for Democracy *American Labor Abroad*

by Marion H. Hedges

*Vice Chairman, NPA Board of Trustees;  
A brief profile of Mr. Hedges appears on page 5*

THE PRESENT HOUR offers evidence that international relations are being re-examined, not only as to policies, but also as to ways of effectuating policies. Though no one type of methodology has been revealed, the importance and constancy of international relations, as an issue and as a task has been stressed rather than elided. Isolationism as a practical policy appears to be dead, if not buried, and few citizens believe now that the United States can skirk its appointed task of world leadership. The present situation makes it impossible for the United States to maintain itself, and at the same time take a negative position on issues affecting the common life of the world.

American labor found itself prior to 1948 in the thick of the fight for the Marshall Plan. Labor found the plan feasible, quite close to what labor itself had stood for for a century, the fraternity of peoples, and quite near to the realities and needs of Europe. It should be recalled that American labor has considerable experience in international relations in (1) international inter-union organizations; (2) in the International Labor Organization; (3) on world committees. To American Labor, the Marshall Plan appeared to be but a wise extension of these agencies.

The date usually assigned to the establishment of the Economic Cooperation Administration is April 1948, when Paul Hoffman opened up his shop in an unfinished building in Washington. Two months later, June 1948, the Office of Labor Advisers was founded and began work.

The Office of Labor Advisers was hailed as an umbrella raised over a hitherto unrecognized section of the population. It was argued that it would penalize seriously the work of ECA if labor were left out. The first assignment of the two labor advisers came quickly. They left for Europe in July, five weeks after they took their oath of office. To be sure, there was some criticism of this mission as a mere junket. This criticism was offered, no doubt,

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in brief

### Problems of Economic Assistance

"On the part of the underdeveloped countries, there has sometimes been an unfortunate tendency to overemphasize the financial aspects of development—to urge that...the one real solution is for the advanced countries to make available large amounts of capital for development...This analysis is one of those half-truths that obscure more than they reveal.

"If I judge correctly, it is the character and initiative of the people, the confidence they have in themselves and in the future of their country, the honesty and efficiency of the government administration, the nature of the country's social institutions—it is these and many similar factors, quite as much as capital, which determine the rate of economic growth. With individual or communal initiative, properly directed, small funds can work miracles."

*From an address by Eugene R. Black, Pres. of the International Bank, before U. N. Economic and Social Council, April 14, 1954.*



because people were unaware of what was going forward in Europe. For 24 hours of every day Russian radio was assailing the ears of western Europeans with the charge that the Marshall Plan was a fraud, a plot of Wall Street, and an effort to soften up the European nations preliminary to permanent conquest. The two labor advisers, one AFL, one CIO, went together deliberately to prove these radio broadcasts as falsehoods. If American labor were supporting the Marshall Plan, the Plan could not be an act of imperialism. The effect of their appearance was almost instantaneous. The wisdom of making the ECA not only bipartisan, but multi-partisan was evident.

**L**ABOR'S RECORD in the international field does not generally include such strategic service. Labor's record has been varied, and widespread.

Let's take dollars first. There is no record of labor's material contribution to European unions. The direct money gifts have been much larger than is usually thought, perhaps totalling millions. In France when Leon Jouhaux led his followers out of the Communist controlled labor federation, they went penniless, and unequipped. To get started they needed fraternal understanding, financial, and formal help, and they got all three. Offices were rented, typewriters and furniture secured, publications re-established, automobiles supplied, so that what resembled an army of stragglers in the cold war soon took on the aspect of a disciplined organization. Hundreds of thousands of dollars from American unionists were spent on CARE packages, and forwarded to European unionists.

Moreover, American labor was remembering its obligations to stricken European labor in a more formal way. December 1950 remains a significant date in the march of the world toward some kind of international unity. For all working relationships which do not culminate in war must be regarded as progress. In December 1950, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a union on a global scale, was founded in London. The total membership was estimated as 50 million workers. A long period of preparation for this major event was recorded. Samuel Gompers had been responsible for the International Federation of Trade Unions in Europe in 1919. This earlier organization stressed the purely business structure and ideological problems of union, as distinguished from philosophy and social goals. The organization emphasized collective bargain-

ing--not political ends--as the basis of trade unionism. The ICFTU could not have been founded without world-wide experience and activity of such large international organizations as the International Transport Workers, a world-wide union which numbered perhaps nine million members in vital railroad, ship, and longshore industries. The 17 million American unionists, the six million American farmers, and the 29 million European unionists, and for that matter the 55 million labor union members throughout the world, must play their appropriate roles, and make their contributions.

**N**OT THE LEAST of labor's contribution to the foreign aid program was supplying of competent personnel. An esoteric service, kept from a stultifying formalism by competent career personnel, foreign service was not usually thought of as a field of work for labor representatives. Hitherto labor's experience, though real and broad, was principally in international unions and in the ILO; but this was parochial stuff when measured by the later demands of the foreign aid program. More than 100 labor representatives found themselves in important positions in 15 countries. Two were chiefs of missions. Several had the rank of ministers. Where did these persons come from, and what contribution did they make?

They came from the active ranks of labor, not from the retired list. Such representatives were not in Europe very long before they became aware of one great fact: modern industry was all of a piece. The problems, varying, of course, in degree, province by province, country by country, were all basically the same. The salient problem was how to put the increment of production by the machine to the use of the whole people. Varying solutions for this all important project had been put in effect in Europe: Russia through state monopoly; the Scandinavian countries through cooperatives; England through a mixed economy and bold political experimentation. The United States, while conservative in political pattern and thought and bold in experimentation, led in another direction, technology. The U.S. had harnessed the machine to a production pattern that produced a standard of living twice as high as its nearest rival. The labor representative's problem at the provincial European capital was how to reconcile the inequities of income with varying degrees of political freedom, yet through deterring remnants of feudalism.

WHAT these American labor representatives in Europe found were general industrial conditions not unlike those at home, but solutions not so far advanced as in America. For example, in no country in Europe has the union labor-management theory been advanced as far as in America. The 60 or more American universities with either courses, or complete schools, or industrial and labor centers just could not be found in Europe. Not one had done basic work in that field in Europe. The interest of foreign teams visiting the United States was definitely in the direction of such a movement.

Members of the National Planning Association can be gratified that its studies on "Causes of Industrial Peace" were widely sought. More than 200 foreign teams heard the philosophy of industrial peace through cooperation discussed by NPA representatives, and the entire series of studies was officially distributed by MSA to the 15 countries in the Marshall Plan group. American labor threw its weight behind this movement for enlightenment and worked manfully to create conditions in the plants and shops of Europe which would favor such advancement.

The drive to secure appreciation of high production in European countries really grew out of the drive for good labor-management relations. In a number of countries the effort to secure a more equitable share of national income for labor was limited by the low national income. The social-political philosophy of improvement appeared to be only academic to Americans who had seen their own national income leap by fabulous bounds decade after decade. This was due to technology, American labor conceded, but also to a definite democratic philosophy applied to commerce, namely, the ordinary citizen had the inalienable right to enjoy the fruits of high production. American labor and employer representatives worked together to advance both the idea and the fact of high production.

ONE does not need be a savant or a philosopher to recognize the scope, direction, and force of labor's work in foreign aid. Much of it was disinterested. To evaluate that work is another matter. Its evaluation depends upon what one considers foreign aid is, and what its force is. If one considers foreign aid a purely administrative function under the direction of specialists (probably of varying degrees of skill) labor's help can be elided, or even dispensed with. However, if one considers for-

eign aid an indispensable line in the universal cold war, labor's role takes on new and great significance.

### Progress Without Friction

*Problems of introducing technical change in underdeveloped areas without disrupting established ways of life*

LARGE SUMS of money and a great deal of effort are being expended to hasten economic and social progress in the world's underdeveloped regions. UN experts, American businessmen, Federal officials, and private foundations are attempting to introduce modern industrial, agricultural, and health practices to peoples who have had little or no acquaintance with them—whose traditions, in fact, often are hostile to Western notions of progress.

The problem arises of how to initiate these changes without too great a disruption of established ways of life. This is a delicate process. Yet a balance between old and new must be worked out or the result will be growing tensions within the underdeveloped areas and increased resistance to change. A new UNESCO publication edited by Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, contributes to an understanding of the issues involved.

Serious mistakes have been made by foreign technicians who did not pay sufficient attention to local conditions in the underdeveloped areas. In Burma, the deep ploughing recommended by agricultural specialists broke up the hard pan that held water in the rice fields. In Indo-China, efforts at practical education in agriculture failed when the use of fertilizer was explained to people who did not have the money to purchase it and could only borrow money for three months at 80% interest. Sometimes, as in Brazil, machines were brought in without providing for maintenance or replacement of parts. In many places the introduction of cash crops and a money economy resulted in malnutrition because the local reaction was to reduce the amount and quality of subsistence crops, to limit the time spent in preparing and preserving food, and to begin using processed food for prestige purposes.

THE REPORT OFFERS no blueprints or sure-fire formulas for ensuring the success of technical assistance projects. A solution must be developed for each situation. "It is a guide only in that it indicates the kind of think-

ing and the kind of activity which may be of value in facilitating the technical change itself and in preserving the cultural integrity of those among whom the changes are introduced." More specifically, the report suggests that foreign experts:

- ▶ consider the fact that their own attitudes and behavior are not universally accepted;
- ▶ realize that traditional beliefs and practices are part of the local community's stability;
- ▶ examine proposed changes with the active participation of those to be affected;
- ▶ avoid making master plans for a complete change in ideas and habits;
- ▶ introduce only what is absolutely essential to permit the native population to adopt the change;
- ▶ initiate changes slowly so that the whole community can be involved in the change and make needed adjustments;
- ▶ help establish local institutions to plan objectives and gauge progress so that the momentum for change can be maintained.

In order to point out the varied and complex attitudes that a foreign technician may encounter in underdeveloped areas, the report describes five specific cultures and also considers special problems in agriculture, industry, public health, maternal and child health, nutrition, and fundamental education.

(From: Columbia Univ. Press, 2960 Broadway, N.Y. 27. 1953. 348 pp. \$1.75)

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### *Randall Commission Reports*

**K** EY documents in the current discussion of U.S. foreign economic policy are:

Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. (Randall Commission) Report to the President and the Congress. Jan. 1954. 94 pp. 35¢. Minority Report. Jan. 1954. 20 pp. 15¢. Both from: Supt. of Doc., Wash. 25.

Staff Papers Presented to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. Feb. 1954. 531 pp. \$1.75. From: Supt. of Doc., Wash. 25.

President Eisenhower's recommendations to Congress on foreign economic policy, printed in full in the March 31, 1954 New York Times.

A Critique of the Randall Commission Report prepared by Klaus Knorr and Gardner Patterson, based on a Princeton Conference of economists called specifically to discuss the Report. From: Princeton Univ. Center of International Studies, Princeton, N.J. 1954. 65 pp. free. Ltd. quan.

### **Biracial Employment Study**

**N** PA study, Negro Employment in the Birmingham Metropolitan Area, the third in a series of Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South, was issued in April by the Committee of the South. The author, Langston T. Hawley, Professor of Management, University of Alabama, after surveying 43 firms employing nearly 60,000 workers, 36 percent of whom were Negroes, concluded that the status of the Negro in the work force of the various industries studied had remained remarkably stable since 1939.

Lack of education and training was stressed by both employers and union officials as one of the chief factors limiting job opportunities for Negroes to a traditional pattern of unskilled and semiskilled jobs. Some officials concerned with training programs for Negroes in the public schools maintain they should be trained for vocations for which the demand is present or readily foreseen. Other educators feel that the base of the Negro's training must be broadened so he will be able to take advantage of increased job opportunities as they develop.

**T** HE NEGRO worker's chief gain since 1939 in the highly industrialized Birmingham area has been in terms of wages. Entrance rates for common labor have risen generally by more than the increase in the cost of living. Flat-cents-per-hour increases have had the effect of raising wages for unskilled and semiskilled jobs by a greater proportion than those of skilled workers.

The area is highly unionized and the labor federations are working to enlarge their Negro membership. In the CIO, AFL, and United Mine Workers, Negroes often serve as officers of the locals and as members of negotiating and grievance committees. Wage differentials based on color have been eliminated in the firms surveyed through managerial decision or collective bargaining.

The gains the Negro has made so far in his employment status have taken place largely within the existing employment pattern. As for the future, the report indicates, improved education seems to offer the greatest hope for expanding employment opportunities for the Negro.

(Ctte. of the South Report No. 6:3. From: NPA. April 1954. 136 pp. \$1.50-\$1.25 to NPA members.)

### Automation

Three new magazines in the field of automation are set to go this summer—McGraw Hill's "Control Engineering" (July or Aug.); Penton Publishing's "Automation" (July); and Reinhold's "Automatic Control" (June). Tide magazine reports the race in its March 27 issue.

How and when to install automatic handling of office paper work is the subject of a short bibliography compiled by Howard Gammon of the U.S. Budget Bureau for the Winter 1954 Public Administration Review. Says Mr. Gammon, "the introduction of an electronic information processing system is not like buying a new adding machine which can be plugged in as part of an existing established clerical routine." It requires "basic rethinking of the job to be done."

### New Committee Invites Your Views

The Bureau of the Budget has established a Committee on Statistics of Labor Supply, Employment, and Unemployment as part of a re-examination of the adequacy of Federal employment statistics. Its subcommittee on Review of Concepts invites interested organizations and individuals to submit written statements covering their views on the shortcomings of Federal statistics on employment, unemployment, and labor force and suggestions for improvement. Inquiries and statements may be addressed to Charles D. Stewart, Subcommittee Chairman, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Wash. 25.

### Europe in 1953

How did Europe fare in 1953 and what are its long-range economic problems? The United Nations, in its Economic Survey of Europe in 1953, considers last year's developments in the light of long-term needs and trends.

Postwar economic strains eased up considerably in Western Europe during 1953, the report reveals. Increased exports, a favorable balance of payments with the dollar area, stable price levels, and less government control of the free market were observed. In spite of the relaxation in economic pressures, however, growth of production and productive power in Western Europe was not comparable to the "confident expansion" of pre-1950. In addition, much of the improvement came from special and often temporary factors, such as the great increase in U.S. offshore procurement. The chief development in the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites during 1953 was

## —the people of NPA—



Marion H. Hedges

Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Hedges was one of NPA's founders in 1934... A member of NPA's Labor Committee; served on Causes of Industrial Peace Committee... Believes in the technique of planning to make democracy more effective... Author of several books and numerous articles... Began as an English Professor at Beloit College... Became a pioneer in union research and education... Has held many responsible posts in the labor relations field... Was member of AFL Committee on Education; research director for International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; technical adviser to American delegation at International Labor Conference, 1935-38, 1944; Federal Social Security Board consultant; special consultant on Labor Relations for TVA; special assistant to the Labor Advisers of FOA... Delegate to 1936 World Textile Conference in Washington; devised a new technique of gathering information on textiles for NPA... Retired from FOA last October... Now teaching at Central Labor Union Institute in Washington, writing a book on TVA labor-management relations, and making speeches—all of which, he says, leaves him "no time for frivolity."



a new effort to raise standards of living and increase agricultural production.

By far the greatest part of the Survey is devoted to the economic development of Southern Europe. Not only is the over-all situation of this region reviewed, but also the special problems of each country and branch of production. (From: Columbia Univ. Press, 2960 Broadway, N.Y. 27. Mar. 1954. 314 pp. \$2.50)

## Growing Response to CIP Concept

WHEN Fundamentals of Labor Peace—A Final Report was published last December, NPA's Committee on the Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining felt highly gratified by the enthusiastic and sympathetic response to the report as shown by the press all over the country. The nine factors established by the Case Studies as essential to good labor-management relations were listed many times in long news stories and editorials—often with the phrase "must reading" for all persons interested in industrial peace.

Typical of the friendly tone which characterized editorial comment on the series from the beginning is this excerpt from a New York Times editorial:

"The National Planning Association's final report in its series of studies on 'Causes of Industrial Peace' is an admirable summary of the fundamentals of labor peace. It deserves the attention of everyone who is interested in good labor-management relations.... We believe that the impact of this work upon constructive industrial relations will grow greater with the passage of time."

NPA has also been gratified to note that the final report—like the individual Case Studies in the series—has been ordered in quantity by colleges and universities for classroom and reference use in business and labor relations courses. It is being used by a number of large business firms in executive training courses, and unions have ordered quantities of the report for use by their members. The FOA has had a standing order for 1,000 copies of each report in the series for distribution among labor-management groups abroad. A large corporation with interests all over the world recently requested permission to reprint Chapter V of the final report, "The Influence of Attitudes and Policies," for distribution to its executives.

Of the more than 10,000 copies of the report that have been sold to date the majority have been quantity orders ranging from 10 to 100, as well as orders of from one to five copies, from large and small businesses, unions, civic groups, lawyers, college professors, and other interested individuals. Most gratifying of all to NPA is this indication—being shown by people with such a broad range of view-

points—of the timeliness and general usefulness of the report.

Clinton S. Golden, Executive Director, Trade Union Program, Harvard University, is Chairman of the Causes of Industrial Peace Committee. The project was financed by the John Hay Whitney Foundation.

## —through the Looking Ahead glass—

ENERGY FROM GRANITE—Harrison Brown, one of America's foremost geochemists, estimates that the earth's supply of coal and petroleum will be used up one day in the not so distant future. One of our major problems is to develop additional sources of energy to meet the world's rapidly growing needs. Most encouraging is his discussion in The Challenge of Man's Future of possible power production from atomic energy. When high or medium grade ore deposits of uranium and thorium are exhausted, there will still remain vast quantities of these materials in ordinary rock, particularly in granite.

On the basis of his experiments, Mr. Brown computes that one ton of rock could yield usable atomic fuel equal to seven tons of coal; 200 tons of rock are needed to obtain one pound of uranium and thorium. The energy produced by the fission of one pound of these elements, however, equals the energy from 1,500 tons of coal. And the earth's supply of rock is for practical purposes unlimited.

Costwise, nuclear fuel per unit of releasable energy already is much cheaper than coal. This is in spite of the fact that it would cost about \$2,000 to process 200 tons of ordinary rock for the extraction of one pound of atomic fuel. At \$5 per ton for coal, it would cost \$7,500 for 1,500 tons of coal to produce as much energy as one pound of uranium or thorium costing \$2,000.

"Why then," says the author, "has atomic energy not already displaced coal as the major fuel in use in the world" today? The great drawback is the large capital investment and stock of fuel required for converting uranium and thorium into usable energy. To obtain 5,000 kilowatts per ton of atomic fuel from a reactor—about the maximum power which can be extracted—a plant will need in the process

an inventory of uranium and thorium 500 times greater than its yearly consumption. Interest on the fuel inventory and the remaining capital investment would constitute the greatest part of the power cost. Nevertheless, Mr. Brown believes "it is conceivable" that the cost of electricity from atomic energy may be brought down to 0.6 cents per kilowatt hour, which is comparable with the cost of coal-generated electricity in the U.S. With the cost of conventional fuel rising as present supplies are depleted, atomic energy should provide "a substantial fraction of the world's energy" in another 100 years.

(From: The Viking Press, 18 E. 48th St., N.Y. 17. Mar. 1954. 290 pp. \$3.75) G.C.

in

brief

#### • Higher Education

The Council for Financial Aid to Education (Jan 1954 Looking Ahead) is starting to publish its leaflet series on the nature and needs of U.S. higher education.

"Sponsored Scholarships"—the first subject considered—concentrates on the type of corporate scholarship program which can be most beneficial to students, colleges, the donor corporation, and the nation at large. The leaflet describes the Ford Motor Company's scholarship program as typical of many now in operation.

The second leaflet considers "The Liberal Arts College" and its contribution to U.S. cultural and technological leadership.

"Unrestricted Funds"—the third in the series—discusses the value of corporation gifts which can be used by college presidents and trustees wherever, in their judgment, they are needed. (From: The Council for Financial Aid to Education, 6 E. 45 St., N.Y. 17. 1954)

#### • Full Employment

The Proceedings of the UAW-CIO Conference on Full Employment held in Washington Dec. 6-7 are now available. Included are addresses by Walter P. Reuther, Leon Keyserling, Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.), and Secty. of Labor James Mitchell; and Conference discussions. (From: UAW, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14. 1954. 122 pp. free. Ltd. quan.

#### • Land Reform

In 1952, questionnaires on land reform were sent by the United Nations to the governments of member states. Questions dealt with the general objectives of reform policy, particular measures applied to carry out the policy, obstacles encountered in the introduction of reforms and recommendations for international action.

Progress in Land Reform, a United Nations report, analyzes the governments' replies. A comprehensive and up-to-date survey of agricultural conditions and practices in the world today, it emphasizes conditions reported and measures taken in underdeveloped areas. Although the fullest data were supplied by economically advanced countries, more attention is paid to those countries whose agrarian structures are considered by the governments as a serious obstacle to progress. (From: Columbia Univ. Press, 2960 Broadway, N.Y. 27. Feb. 1954. 322 pp. \$2.50)

#### • Asia and the Far East

For the first time the UN's Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East covers recent economic development in individual countries of the region as well as a brief regional treatment of these developments. Food production is up but the output of raw materials and agricultural commodities other than food is down. Additions to industrial productivity are continuing. There was little change in the balance of payments since the value of imports and exports both declined. In contrast to declining import and export prices, the trend in domestic wholesale prices and in the cost of living has in general been upward. The main problem to be faced by governments in the area, says the report, would seem to be export earnings inadequate to support the developmental needs of the countries. (From: Columbia Univ. Press, 2960 Broadway, N.Y. 27. Feb. 1954. 161 pp. \$1.50)

#### • Survey of School Facilities

The first comprehensive survey of public elementary and secondary schools in the U.S. is almost complete. It was authorized by the 81st Congress and conducted by state educational agencies in cooperation with the Federal Office of Education. Existing school facilities, the need for additional construction, and local resources available for meeting those needs are covered in a Government report analyzing data

gathered by 43 states participating in the survey. Long-range planning by the states for school improvement will be summarized in a supplementary report due next fall.

A great shortage of adequate school facilities is stressed in the report. Almost one-half of the buildings are over 30 years old. About 250,000 new classrooms are needed at an estimated cost of \$7.5 billion. Factors contributing to this shortage are increased enrollments (in 1952 a new peak in live births was reached); population mobility; reorganization of school districts; extension of school programs; backlog of school construction; and financial difficulties. (From: Supt of Doc. Wash. 25. Dec. 1953. 140 pp. 70¢)

#### • State Government Directory

Activities of state governments and a directory of officials and legislators who comprise the governments are included in the 1954-55 edition of *The Book of the States*. Leading authorities contributed articles on intergovernmental relations, constitutions and elections, organization, finance, and major state services. Published by The Council of State Governments, a joint governmental agency established and supported by the states, this book is the standard reference work in the field. (From: The Council of State Governments, 1313 E. 60 St., Chicago 37. 1954. 68 pp. \$10 with 1955 Supplement of elective officials and legislators.)



RALPH TORNBURG, N. Y.

The NPA Committee on International Policy discusses its policy report for a study of U.S. imports being undertaken jointly with The Twentieth Century Fund and soon to be completed. Seated from left to right: Solomon Barkin, Paul Nitze, Kenneth Holland, Helen Hill Miller, Lithgow Osborne, Morris S. Rosenthal, J. Frederick Dewhurst (Director, The Twentieth Century Fund), Frank Altschul, August Maffry, John Miller, Isador Lubin, Clarence E. Pickett, Wayne Chatfield Taylor. Standing from left to right: Richard M. Bissell, Jr., John McClintock, and Theodore Geiger.

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